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CONTENTS

		Page
The social life of Tribal Women ..	Ramachandra Ujale ..	1
Rationale for new strategy for Tribal Development..	Bhupinder Singh 1, A. B. ..	6
Development, cultural management and Anthropology...	Gopal Sarana ..	17
Stereotypes of the tribes of Patkai (Arunachal Pradesh) about fifteen ethnic groups.	N. Patgik ..	25
Stratification and discrimination among three Harijan castes in a coastal village of Orissa.	N. K. Behara ..	33
A study of Kulis khonds foot ..	Gitanjali Nayak ..	41



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The social life of Tribal Women

RAMA CHANDRA ULKKA

The Christian era of 1975 was celebrated as the International Women's year, all the world over. The international conference which was held in Mexico in June and July of 1975 in that connection was a unique event. The convention high lighted the various handicaps and disabilities from which the race of Eve, the mother of mankind, suffers. It stressed the importance of ameliorating the condition of women and providing them with facilities to play an equal and effective role in contributing to peace and plenty and in diffusing light and sweetness. The official emblem of the U. N. O. for the Women's Year was a stylised dove, the biological symbol for women and the mathematical sign for equality. The popular UNESCO slogan was "Educate a man and you educate an individual; educate a woman and you educate a family". India's President, Mr. Fakirudin Ali Ahmed, emphasized in his message for the Women's Year the need of improving the conditions of women in the weakest sectors—the rural, slum and tribal population which comprise about 80 per cent of the total. Article 14 of the Indian Constitution has provided for women's equality in the eyes of laws. Article 15 assures that the State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds of sex and says: "Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women." Laws providing equal wages to women labourers and protection of women from masculine oppression in form of demand for dowry and harassment for its non-payment have been

passed. It goes without saying that several other measures of welfare of womankind should be adopted. But in making efforts for the all-round improvement of our women-folk we should not allow our head to be carried away by our heart. Practices which lead to discrimination on the ground of sex or to exploitation of one section by another should certainly be done away with. But those usages which have not outlined their utility ought not to be rejected and thrown into the lumber-room of discarded culture. Every cloud has a silver lining which needs appraisal before the cloud is condemned as portentous. The tribal communities of the hills and the forest lands have flourished for ages in sylvan surroundings, away from "the maddening crowd's ignoble strife" of the sophisticated societies. They have developed customs based on their age-old experience and wisdom gathered directly from their struggle for existence on the theatre of nature. The pristine simplicity and utility of their customs should not be allowed to fall by the wayside in the rush for reforms.

In the tribal community not only a woman is man's equal but also she has been given a higher place of honour. She is not economically dependent on man. She plays a more vital role than man in social and cultural life. She is neither treated as a chattel nor is regarded as an object of luxury and pleasure. She is not harried by a tyrannical mother-in-law, nor worried by an exacting father-in-law. Nobility of a hus-

hand can dare harass her. No voluptuous man can venture to outrage her modesty without coming to grief. At convivial gathering she freely participates in the revelry like a male member. In spite of her hard exterior she has a soft core of tenderness which makes her an affectionate mother and a loving wife. All the same, she has her own troubles, and the weaver knows where the shoe pinches.

A maiden and her parents in the non-tribal society are a prey to the pernicious dowry system. A young unmarried daughter of the house may be beautiful, healthy, educated and cultured. Her parents may be quite respectable. But these considerations do not weigh. They have to make payment of heavy dowry in cash and kind as a condition precedent to the proposed marriage of their daughter with their son. Often the parents are unable to meet the demand. In consequence the daughter of the house has to live under enforced maidenhood and sit like an incubus on the shoulders of her parents. At times the parents of the maiden go all out to meet the demand for heavy dowry by selling or mortgaging their house and landed property. The daughter is happily married off. But the parents find themselves faced with bankruptcy. The married daughter is touched to the quick by their plight. The sophisticated non-tribal society is obsessed with colour prejudice. It depends too much on the agreement of the horoscope of the proposed bride and the groom. Marriage takes place on the day and in the season marked off in the almanac as auspicious. The foolishness and futility of it all are not realised even though all well-meaning calculations in this respect have gone wrong.

The picture in the tribal society is just the reverse. The tribesman is not bothered by colour prejudice. He does not have the pretension for any infallible

knowledge of the influences of the stars and the planets. He does not claim to have the ability of forecasting accurately the future of the proposed marriage. He has no belief in such heax and sham practices though he may have his superstitions. The parents of the prospective bridegroom do not demand dowry. On the other hand the parents of the would-be bride insist on payment of the 'brides money' as a condition precedent to the celebration of the wedding. Not that they want to have a consideration to meet their own needs or to defray the expenses of the marriage of another member of the family as is the case with their counterparts of the non-tribal community. The 'bride's money' is a sort of caution money or security deposit to be forfeited in the eventuality of ill treatment and oppression of the wedded daughter in her father-in-law's house. If the wedded daughter is harassed by her husband or parents-in-law she runs away to the house of her own parents where she finds warm welcome, ready shelter and protection and maintenance supplemented by what the 'bride's money' can purchase. This practice may be better than the practice of a married woman of the non-tribal community to go to law for the restitution of her conjugal right of maintenance. But it is an equally oppressive practice like the dowry system. Undue parental interference in the affairs of the boy and the girl who are sui major is undesirable by itself. It is also inconsistent with the traditional privilege which the tribal society concedes to the young men and the young women to choose their mates freely. Because of the prevalence of this practice a sincere suitor of a steadfast purpose works as a day-labourer in the house of his would-be bride as an earnest of his good intentions. When he earns wages equivalent in amount to the 'bride's money' he is permitted to marry the girl. The higher the

amount of the 'bride's money' the greater is the prestige of the bride's family. So the puffed-up parents of the bride are led to raise their demand higher. This accounts for the cases of Gretna Green marriage in the tribal society.

Marriage is, no doubt, a sacrament in the tribal world. But to the woman it is not such an indissoluble bond as cannot be repudiated for ill-treatment and continued negligence heeled out to her, or for reasons of impotence or drunken lechery or incurable diseases or chronic laziness and extravagance on the part of the husband. The tribal woman earns her living by the sweat of her brow. She is the gatherer of fruits, roots and tubers and co-worker with man in the field of agriculture and horticulture. In spite of her hard work she makes time to take care of her children, look after the cattle and poultry, cook the food and attend to other domestic duties. She is neither economically dependent on man nor is dependent on a maid or a male attendant to do the odd chores of her household. If she feels it to be increasingly difficult to pull on with a husband she divorces him and marries again. If the husband predeceases her and she feels the need she goes in for a second marriage. It is up to her to decide if she would remain yoked with a male partner for life or to adopt another by changing the first. Widow marriage is not prohibited in the tribal society. A divorced woman is not held in contempt by it. So the tribal woman does not have to bother herself about marriage and divorce and re-marriage. The tribesmen adore their women as they are loyal and loving comrades in the battle of life. For this reason divorces are not so frequent among them, in spite of free mixing of men and women and freedom for separation and second marriage.

They say that men are polygamous and women are monogamous by nature. Some men of the tribal communities marry more than one wife. But they do so with the consent of the first wife. When a tribesman marries a second wife in pursuance of the tradition that prescribes the adoption of a second wife as the symbol of the superiority of his clan, his first wife urges him to do so, instead of resenting the idea. A tribal woman does not also mind living under the same roof with a co-wife, if the latter has been chosen by her husband to relieve the burden of the family by lending a hand at work or by supplementing the earnings of the family. But when the husband marries a second wife in the hope of meeting with her earnings his expenses for liquor in which he is addicted, the first wife waits for an opportunity to snap the bond of marriage. A tribal woman does not generally like to marry a second husband without divorcing the first. But polyandry is the practice among the women of the tribe of the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills and the tribe of the Khasa of the Himachal Pradesh. It is not known if these tribes are the descendants of the clan to which Draupadi of the Mahabharata fame belonged and who sanctified the polyandry among women by her own unique example.

A tribal woman is at liberty to choose her own mate. She does not live confined within the four corners of her house. She is called to work outside everyday. She loves at first sight one whom she meets in course of pursuing her own business. The young man who attracts her is perhaps drawn out to her in love. They get opportunities to meet often. Each sees the other in field, in the forest, on the bank of a stream, at the foot of a hill, near the fountain, in the weekly fair. They collect each other's antecedents, study

each other's ways and size up each other. Then they make up their mind. After the choice is made they may flirt or chat, laugh or dance together. By that time it is known that the boy has fallen for the girl and that the latter has accepted her suit. Even then none takes liberties with the other though the opportunity of meeting together at the rendezvous, away from the prying looks of the neighbours is given to them. Preparations are then made and formalities are gone through. The wedding is solemnized. It is noteworthy that a tribal maiden generally chooses a noble and valiant youth, guided instinctively by her tradition.

The tribal woman is a buxom, blithe-some clad in simple dress, smart in movements, free and gentle in manners. She is neat and clean in her habits—konga, frobbies and flowers are her only luxuries. She washes herself twice daily. She keeps her house and its outer courtyard always spick and span. Her needs are few, so are her belongings. When she wanders from place to place with her husband and children in search of work she does not experience difficulty in transporting their things. She prefers an active open-air-life. As she is quite hale and hearty she does not fall ill easily. She smiles, giggles and chats in a pleasing manner with you. But if you go out of the bounds of decorum you may encounter her sharp dagger which she conceals among the locks of hair of her head. Women, they say, have refined and civilized in course of centuries men who are generally wild by nature. It is true of the tribal women who often bring about peace between two warring clans.

Semi-nudism is the go among the women of tribal peoples. Naked bath is the practice of all. Except the women who work in factories, in mining or industrial areas no feminine being of a tribal community wears a loose

bodice visible to waist. The women of the Bonda tribe of Koraput district put on hand-woven cloths from the girdle to the knee, and keep their breasts covered with necklaces of brass and a great mass of colourful bead work which hang down to the navel. The women of the Lanjia Saora and the Kulia Kondh Tribes put on tightly pieces of short linen as underwear and troop out to the fair with the rest of the limbs uncovered. Preference for the open air-life and out-door activities account for the practice of semi-nudism among the tribal peoples. There is also a legend that the tribal women are under a curse in that respect. During their exile Rama, Laxman and Sita were given a warm reception and accorded cordial hospitality by the Saora tribe. Once while Sita was having a dip in a mountain stream the rushing waves swept the cloth off her bust again and again which embarrassed her. The tribal women who watched her felt amused and laughed. This made Sita curse them to live in a state of semi-nakedness for all time to come.

Addiction to alcoholic liquor is a chronic widespread vice of the male section of the tribal society. Though a tribal woman does not mind having a sip of the country liquor, now and then, she is generally free from such vice. But the frequent drunkenness of her mate is a thorn in her flesh, as it is the cause of wasteful extravagance and the indebtedness to the money-lender on the part of the tribesmen. Gandhiji has said "Drinking habits destroy the soul of man and tends to turn him into a beast, incapable of distinguishing wife, mother and sister. I hold drinking to be more damnable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution. The drink and the drug evil in man respects is worse than the evil caused by Malaria and the like; while the latter only injures the body, the former saps

both body and soul". Drinking is responsible for the estranged family relations and it leads to rape, murder and several other evils in the tribal society. It is also a remote cause of the de-population among the tribal communities. The 12-point Programme for Prohibition announced by the Government of India on October 1, 1975 and made effective from the following day that synchronised with the Gandhi Jayanti Day is a right move calculated to reduce the evils of drinking.

A tribal woman is a fine specimen of femininity. She is the wife, mother, daughter, sister, nurse, teacher, guide and comrade all rolled in one. Over and above, she is an asset economically. She is born and brought up in the lap of nature and educated in the school of the natural life. A man usually describes his wife as his better half out of courtesy and adulation. But the tribal wife is, in fact, the better half of her mate. She is a strong, stout, brave, hard-working, smart, courteous, resourceful, sincere, unsophisticated and cheerful creature. Given equal facilities for education, employment, economic pursuits, social rehabilitation, and cultural activities, she will certainly give a better account of herself than her counterpart in the non-tribal society because in such case she will lead a life representative of the best of both the worlds, the world of nature and the world of men. Because of her poverty, simplicity and ignorance of the devious ways of the world of men

she falls a victim to the machinations of unscrupulous traders and contractors who exploit her labour and womanhood not only in the suburbs of the City and the mining and industrial areas and the tea-gardens of the country but also abroad in the Middle East to which they are secretly exported to be prostituted to the oil Kings there. The founding father of our nation and the framers of our Constitution knew the ills of the life of the tribal peoples. So they have empowered the State to make special provisions for the all-round improvement of the tribal folk. The tribesmen need houses to live in, lands to cultivate, seeds and implements and oxen and know-how for agriculture, schemes for cottage industries, market facilities for their products, vocational schools for their training, cultural and recreational Centres, protection from exploitation, education against vices like drinking and drug habit and constant encouragement till they stand on their feet. The tribal woman is a flower of the forest. She requires special opportunity to develop her pristine individual glory and splendour in a manner different from the line of growth of the garden flower of the non-tribal society. She will fade and wither on an alien soil and in an unconducive environment. 'Art is man added to nature'. If the best of human culture is added to the flowering of natural culture the art of living of the tribal women will be truly improved. This is where the services of the research scholars are required more than in the science of collection of data.

Rationale for new strategy for Tribal Development

SHUPINDER SINGH

The fifth Five-Year Plan period marks a turning point in the history of the tribal development. In some quarters, the question is asked what is new in the strategy for the tribal development. In other quarters the issue is raised how tribal development is different from rural development in general and how a different strategy for, or approach to, the tribal development is needed. This article attempts to answer these and related questions.

A peep into the historical background will be helpful. In the first instance, in the distant past the more powerful invading races pushed the original or the autochthonous inhabitants of the fertile plains and valleys into the infertile, inhospitable and remote slopes, hills and forests. More recently, say a century or two ago, the clever plainmen, the traders and the merchants, began to intrude into even these remote tracts, commencing a process of exploitation that has continued to this day, resulting in gradual diminution in control over even the limited natural resources left to the Adibasis. In the historical perspective, the tribal and the non-tribal appear in a relationship of the exploited and the exploiter. The weaker of the two has, therefore,

been impoverished more and more. Two consequences are apparent, that is, the demographic distribution of the tribal people exemplified by their concentration in hills and plateaus of the districts of Koraput, Phulbani, Ganjam Agency, and their economic exploitation and alienation of natural resource potential.

Even in the British days, the divergence between the tribal & the non-tribal situations did not escape recognition. However, they viewed the problem from their own standpoint. They were more concerned with consolidating the imperial power and keeping the forces of nationalism at bay. It suited them to throw a cordon round the tribal areas and compartmentalise them, so that the measure would prevent spread of disaffection. May be, they also saw some intrinsic merit in the policy inasmuch as this enabled the tribal to preserve their own tradition and custom and pursue their own life and occupation peacefully.

It might be true that during the freedom struggle the problem of the tribal peoples did not engage the attention of the Indian leaders as prominently as did the problem of the

'Harijans' or 'the Untouchables'. Yet, during the early forties, it became clear that the tribal peoples would have to become a part of the Indian main-stream, both in their own interest as well as in the interest of the larger Indian polity. Later, this policy of assimilation became Free India's official policy. Incidentally, this policy has inherent loopholes, too. Pursued towards its logical conclusion, one of its consequences would be the merger of the tribal peoples and the non-tribal peoples. Is it necessary or even desirable? Any observer of the Indian scene would shudder at the thought of imposition of such uniformity. The late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, warned us against the danger of making the tribal folk second-rate copies of ourselves. Today, the tribal peoples are in search of a new identity. There are various manifestations of this quest. Political, religious and social movements, of the past and the present like Jharkhand, Sanskritisation, etc., grope towards an identity, an assertion of a personality. There is no doubt that the outstanding feature that calls for insistent remedial attention in the present tribal situation is the pervading general backwardness of the tribal masses. In trying to eradicate the poverty of the tribesman various questions occur to one's mind. Should there be a conscious effort to make him a "civilized" human-being, indistinguishable from his counterpart in the non-tribal society? Should an effort be made to preserve his identity and his qualities through the welter of the intensive economic processes? Should the economic process be allowed to operate without a conscious effort in either direction, leaving the consequences to take care of themselves? These are some of the

questions that are naturally posed and to which attention needs to be directed. But no attempt would be made in the present article to answer them. The purpose here is different.

Of the various difficulties with which the subject of the tribal development bristles, the most basic is that of attitude. There is a well-founded feeling, apparently based on reactions elicited from a wide cross-section of the public, that we have yet to approach the task of tribal development in a spirit of identification and affection that eliminates the possibility of superiority. Nowhere is this more in evidence than in a situation when a plains-dwelling Government servant is posted to a station in a tribal area. The hiatus is etched out in bold relief by his supercilious remarks and actions, obliging the tribal folk to retreat further into their shell. This does not appear to be an isolated instance to be shrugged off as exceptional. Voluntary non-official agencies in the field are few; and even they are not without that kind of air of superiority.

The framers of the Indian Constitution accepted the difference in the contexts and backgrounds of the tribal & non-tribal sections in forthright terms. They envisaged differential and protective treatment for the tribal communities, as is evident from the following:—

- (a) The Fifth Schedule of the Constitution contains provisions conferring absolute power on the Governor to make laws and regulations for the Scheduled Areas, and even to repeal or amend any Act of the Parliament or of the State Legislature, if necessary.

RATIONALE FOR NEW

The legal frame has thus been made flexible to help in the process of evolution of the administrative, financial and institutional arrangements which harmonise fully with the tribal milieu.

- (b) It has been provided that the executive power of the Union Government extends to giving of such directions to the States as are essential to the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes (Article 338).

- (c) The first proviso of Article 275 is significant in as much as it makes recurring and non-recurring expenditure on development of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes a charge on the Consolidated Fund of India, though the execution of the welfare programmes lies with the States, there being no Central machinery.

- (d) According to Article 16(4) notwithstanding the general right of equality of opportunity in matters of public employment the State may make provisions for reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward classes of citizens and the tribal peoples. Similarly restrictions may be imposed on the exercise of the right of freedom of speech, etc., for the protection of the interest of any Scheduled Tribe (Article 19(5)).

- (e) In Article 48, a special obligation has been imposed on the State, as a Directive

Principle that the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the Scheduled Tribes, shall be promoted with special care, and they shall be protected from social injustice and all other forms of exploitation.

- (f) Articles 330 and 332 enjoin that there shall be reservation of seats for the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies.

- (g) The appointment of a Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes to supervise whether the constitutional guarantees have been implemented or not, has been provided for in Article 338.

- (h) Under Article 339, a Commission was appointed in 1961 under the Chairmanship of Shri L. N. Dhebar to review the administration of the Scheduled Areas and Welfare of Scheduled Tribes and to recommend further measures for the development.

Under the Fifth Schedule to the State of Orissa Regulations have been promulgated for the abolition of bonded labour, land alienation, debt relief and regulation of the greedy and grabbing conduct of the money lenders. These are:

The Orissa Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation, 1948

The Orissa Scheduled Area Transfer of Immovable Property (to Scheduled Tribes) Regulation, 1956

The Orissa Scheduled Areas Debt Relief Regulation, 1967

The Orissa Scheduled Areas Minor Leaders Regulation, 1967

Apart from the background given above described it is time to take stock of a few other factors. A look at them would also point out to the need of recognising that the preservation of a uniform strategy for the development of the non-tribal peoples and the tribal peoples alike may lead to preposterous results.

In the first instance, there is the question of motivation. That this problem is real. An outside well-meaning observer of the tribal scene may question the relevance of any set of plans and programmes to the tribal context. He may say that it would not be wise to upset rudely the centuries-old delicate man-nature ecological balance. Should it however be taken as axiomatic that economic development plans must be ushered in, the tribesman's receptivity ought to be regarded a crucial factor. Here with a wide range of the tribal peoples with prosperous and advanced communities at one end and the very backward communities at the other end of the spectrum, it is clear that their reactions will vary. Tribal communities like the Santals, the Adivasis and the Bhumiya have even been demanding and obtaining a fair share of development while the Lanjisaurs, the Dongria Kondh, the Bonda, the Juang are unresponsive or at best, indifferent. It is noteworthy

that the tribal communities who set their face against, or are indifferent to development as we conceive of it stand in need of such development most. Lack of motivation encountered in tribal areas has to be countered by efforts to convince them of the need and relevance of the developmental schemes. Such efforts are rarely found in the non-tribal areas. Incidentally, in administrative terms it means that the extension services have themselves been properly motivated, that they are dedicated and efficient and have special skill. This calls a tremendous responsibility on administrative machinery.

The majority of the tribal peoples, excepting manual labour or occupations of mining and industry in the district of Sundargarh and Keonjhar is agriculture. Land is to them their basic resource, the fountain head of life itself, as it is to any other agriculturist. Yet a casual look at the tribal agriculture brings out some salient features. Firstly, the soils are generally poor, being infertile, lateritic, porous and permeable. Irrigation facilities are meagre, even the potential does not seem to be high. Thirdly, the seeds chosen for various crops are poor in quality. Fourthly, the tribal people have no capital surplus to invest in inputs or improved technology. All these make the tribal agriculture a vocation of depressingly low productivity. Further, if to these is added the practice of shifting cultivation it becomes clear beyond doubt that it is, by and large, an economy of bare subsistence. It gives the family sustenance for a part of the year only. For the rest of the year, the members have to look for other sources like wage earning. It will be idle to deny the contention, if such is made, that in

RATIONALE FOR NEW

many non tribal regions too, the state of agriculture hardly inspires more cheer. The difference is that in these latter the farmer's cognizant of the agriculture potential and struggles against constraints to achieve higher levels of production, whereas the average tribal farmer is a resigned fatalist.

The backwardness of the tribal agriculture is illustrated by the agriculture implements he uses. There are certain communities many of whose members use an agricultural plough without an iron share. At the same time, there are some backward communities who use crude hoes for turning the earth and who have not seen even the plough. Chemical fertilisers are little known. It is not denied that there are certain tribal families who have begun to use modern agricultural tractors, yet most of the tribal people lag far behind.

In the field of animal husbandry, some of the tribal people have traditionally been keeping small animals. Cases of rearing of milch cattle are not common. This is another distinctive feature.

A startling fact came to notice when the population figures of the Scheduled Tribe Communities as per 1961 Census, are compared with their population figures, as per the 1971 Census. It will be found that the population of 13 tribal communities has declined in number during the inter-census period. *Primo facie*, no reasons can be assigned for the decline. It may be that the figures were not checked-up properly or that migration has occurred or that diseases and epidemics have taken a heavy toll. A study is being made of the causes.

Nothing of that nature has come to light in the non tribal areas.

A pertinent question is that of health. Some survey reports show that there is abnormal incidence of tuberculosis, yaws, malaria etc. peculiar to some tribal communities. This problem needs to be tackled on a special line.

If education is taken alongside economic condition as one of the indicators of backwardness, the tribal mass is really backward. Tribal literacy rose from 74% in 1961 to 95% in 1971. This may be compared with the increase from 30-1% in 1961 to 35-2% in 1971 for the non tribal population of the State of Orissa. It is difficult to contend in the face of these figures that the developmental process of the two sections of the society could be alike or similar. One has to go even further to say that while the need to extend education among the tribal people is undeniable, there has to be a concomitant scrutinising look at its contents. One harbours the feeling that much of what is taught to a child of a tribesman is unsuitable and not easily assimilable. It is also not relevant. The spectacle of semi-educated youths of the tribes who have lost their moorings in tribal society and have failed to acquire roots in the non tribal society which in many cases, is not so kindly disposed, is as uncommon as it is pathetic. It is the firm conviction of the present writer that this matter needs urgent and close scrutiny.

The broad panorama portrayed in the preceding few paragraphs has to be juxtaposed alongside the historical background and perspective described earlier to appreciate the set-up of

things. As one thinks of it all, the compulsion of logic leads to the conclusion that the tribal and the non-tribal situations are basically different, ethnically, demographically, historically, politically, economically, socially, educationally, culturally and psychologically. The differences manifest themselves in various forms, but fundamentally, the man and his ecology are distinct in the two tracts. If this position is conceded, the policies and programmes formulated for the tribal people should receive different treatment.

For the past two decades various policies and programmes of the Government aimed at tribal development have been in force. At this stage, it is appropriate to take stock of these.

In early 1950's, an extensive programme of rural development known as the Community Development was launched. It was a comprehensive programme, the fundamental concept of which was to adumbrate an area of specific plan of action, for example, a block based upon the requirements and needs of the people. For the first time after a long spell of foreign rule a meaningful dialogue between the administration and the people was started to give the right direction to development. Conceptually the Community Development was a flexible model, nothing was to be imposed from above and the plan must reflect the needs and the will and aspirations of the people. In the context of this programme, higher investment was envisaged in tribal blocks designated as Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks. Four such Multipurpose Tribal Blocks were started on experimental basis in 1956-57. However, when a Team under the chairmanship of Dr Varrier Elwin reviewed the working of these Blocks, it recommen-

ded less intensive but large-scale programme of tribal development.

It was later felt that the Tribal Development Block Programme should be a further intensification of the community development programme. In essence, these Tribal Blocks were to bring about rapid improvement in the economic and social standards of the tribal peoples by selecting areas, specially underdeveloped and compact tracts, for multipurpose development. Seventy-one Tribal Development Blocks were opened in the State between 1961 and 1967. In this scheme special emphasis was laid on irrigation and drinking water and communications considered as core items of economic and social development. Thus, by the end of the Third Plan period seventy five Tribal Development Blocks were functioning in nine districts in the State, as set forth below.

Koraput	..	30 (including 2 Special Multipurpose Blocks)
Sundargarh	..	17
Phulbani	..	9
Mayurbhanj	..	6 (including 1 Special Multipurpose Block)
Keonjhar	..	4 (Ditto)
Kalahandi	..	4
Ganjam	..	3
Sambalpur	..	1
Dhenkanal	..	1

The Tribal Development Blocks were to be opened in those areas which had 66½ per cent or more of tribal population. The area of such a Block was not to exceed 200 square miles and a population of 20,000. The area was to be carved out from the existing Community Development Blocks. The development was to be achieved by

RATIONALE FOR NEW

three stages each stage being of 5 years duration. At the first stage Rs 12 lakhs was to be allotted from the Community Development programme and Rs. 10 lakhs from the Tribal Development programme. At the Second stage, Rs. 5 lakhs was to be allotted to each of these programmes. At the third stage, Rs. 10 lakhs was to be allotted by the tribal development programme.

The Tribal Development Block programme was expected to take care of all the problems of the tribal area and it was therefore to be comprehensive. In fact, in the beginning, the major thrust was total development in a number of fields. Later slowly, the community development and the tribal development programmes were set in a routine form in terms of various programmes which were not there in the early phase. When the early limits of an outlay had been fixed at Rs. 2 or 3 lakhs per year, the sectoral departments, programmes continued to grow in size. Thus, the scheme which was supposed to be a comprehensive programme got reduced to a routine programme of a special category. Because of the emergence of localised priorities, the field problems were not clearly appreciated by the sectoral authorities. As a result many a programme formulated in compliance with national or State directives lost local relevance, though they continued to be followed. In other words, the Tribal Development Block scheme became schematic and its flexibility and, in consequence, lost much of its vitality. Another drawback was that although the Blocks covered two thirds of the tribal population, more than 50 per cent of the tribal population remained uncovered.

During the course of the Fourth Plan period the Planning Commission

appointed a Committee on Plan Projects the Shau Ao Committee. This Committee comprehensively reviewed the tribal development programme and made the pronouncement that although the Tribal Development Blocks had a social impact it was clear that much remained to be done. It therefore recommended that the effort in the tribal areas needed to be consolidated. Thus, one more stage of 5 years of intensive development was added to the existing Blocks though there was practically no geographical expansion of the programme during the Fourth Plan period.

Notwithstanding the existence of protective constitutional provisions and the socio-economic programme launched through the Tribal Development Blocks and despite a general concern for the backward sections of the community towards the end of the Fourth Plan period, an extremist movement swept across the tribal areas of southern Orissa. This was the Naxalite movement with its creed of violence. Some parts of Koraput and Ganjam districts came under its sway. The tribal peoples were no doubt misguided because violence could not have solved the problem.

It became necessary that the Government's programmes and policies should be reprogrammed in a quick-maturing Two Tribal Development Agencies, viz., the Parakhmedl Tribal Development Agency in Ganjam district and the Ganjam Tribal Development Agency in Koraput district were established in 1972 with a specific economic thrust.

In 1972 the Government of India set up an informal Expert Committee to go into the entire question of tribal development and this Committee provided the basic frame for further

policy formulation. Meanwhile the Planning Commission set up a Task Force on the Department of Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Tribes working programmes for the Fifth Five Year Plan. The task Force considered various aspects of tribal development and spelt out some further details for the new effort. Based on these two basic documents, the Government formulated the Tribal Sub-Plan.

The Tribal Sub-Plan was formally adopted by the National Development Council as a part of the Draft Fifth Five Year Plan. Thus, gradually a decision was made to set a Plan within the Plan for the tribal areas. The Tribal Sub-Plan was born.

One of the fundamental principles which guided the formulation of the Sub-Plan and which runs like a common thread throughout all the schemes in the Sub-Plan is that the tribal peoples should be developed along the lines of their own genius. Those versed in the lore of tribal development will regard this as something trite. But its importance cannot be exaggerated. Many a programme for tribal development had foundered since it did not conform to this principle. The tribesman is generally averse to leaving his home and hearth and being set down in strange unfamiliar surroundings. Yet, some colonies were established, far away from his habitat as a result of which he was gripped by an overpowering sense of isolation and helplessness. These colonies did not flourish. On such other occasions, extension authorities tried to persuade them to grow high-yielding varieties of paddy with the lure of a package of modern practices. Without ascertaining the tribal reaction, the zealous agencies rushed with their supplies, and virtually forced on them strange crop and strange set of

practices. The results were disastrous. Whereas the tribal folk should have been encouraged to produce more of their own staple crops, they were made to grow crops which they did not want.

During some of the early years of establishment of colonies, the people were provided for the tribal settlers, to their surprise and discomfort. As the settlers were not used to them, they deserted the colonies. The examples can be multiplied. It has to be our basic tenet that the prohibitions, the temperament and the customs of the Adibangs have to be understood, appreciated and respected and our schemes for their development cast in the mould accordingly.

As it has been remarked earlier, since the motivational factor is of paramount importance, conviction does not come easily. The tribal peoples have to be convinced that what is being offered is valid and good, and what is more important is practicable and relevant to their conditions. Above all, they have to feel the urge to improve their economic condition. These are no simple matters. They can break the spirit of the most zealous of missionaries. Yet it has to be attempted. We have to get ahead with the task assigned. As per the Sub-Plan, the involvement of the tribal folk is to be secured through extension work as well as through doses of subsidies in various schemes. For example, the tribal cattle fairs and the annual fairs are to be held. 50 per cent subsidy has been allowed. It has also been suggested that the tribal family might not be able to contribute the other 50 per cent. Arrangements have been made to get loans advanced to the tribal peoples from financial institutions.

In the field of agriculture while introduction of modern techniques has

been put down as one of the desiderata the pride of place has been assigned to propagation and distribution of improved seeds of those crops which are being grown at present by the tribal peoples. In the matter of agricultural implements, there should be efforts to make available those implements which represent one or two degrees of advancement over the ones which are in use these days. They are familiar with bullock power, it is being augmented to raise productivity. The accent is on green manuring.

Similarly, in the field of horticulture it has been envisaged that their existing expertise should be given an impetus to develop further. It is known that certain tribes like the Souras of the Ganjam Agency and the Dongria Kondhs of Niyangiri hills of Koraput district have been traditional fruit growers. Thus skill is to be tapped. Further, it is intended to provide them with better and improved varieties of horticultural crops and the requisite inputs and the modern know how to the extent it is desirable. Fifteen tribal belts have been recognised in the State as having the potential of horticultural development, and these are being taken up.

In the field of animal husbandry, in Parikameul T. D. A. encouraging success has been achieved. The Souras of the Ganjam Agency have taken to goat rearing profitably. The experiment has emboldened the Administration to take up such animal husbandry schemes in other areas. It is noteworthy that cattle-rearing is not one of the occupations of tribal communities, barring the exceptional and the Kheras. In fact, in the Kheras, the Government has been unable to whom they were given. Hence, attention is being concentrated on small

animals like goats, sheep, pigs and poultry. The Koyas and the Kondhs keep a few cows and buffaloes and the Kheras a few horses and ponies. The Government is not favouring rearing in case of small animals, as it is likely to upset the tribal budget. Of course, the animal forest balance has to be preserved and it would be a retrograde step to lay bare the hill slopes under the spell of animal husbandry programmes. These considerations are being kept in view.

Mainly on account of his habit the tribesman has probably not been attracted by fish, the favourite food of the coastlander. Such relish as he has for fish is confined to dry fish, which is rather a pity. Nevertheless, in the Sub-Plan area there are several Scheduled Caste communities which are traditionally engaged in fishing. Schemes have been framed for promoting this avocation amongst them. This incidentally exemplifies that the Sub-Plan is not a purely tribal plan but an area plan. It caters to all the tribal peoples. In the Scheduled Caste and the non-tribal, non-Scheduled Caste and the indigent sections of the community with focus on the tribal folk.

Enough has been said earlier to indicate how the tribal peoples have been exploited. The exploitation has taken the form of indebtedness with loans at exorbitant rate of interest has been possible of liquidation, and land acquisition partly as a consequence of inability to liquidate loans and partly on account of handicapped marketing where they have been cheated by the middle men and the traders both in sale of their produce and purchase of consumer necessities. It has also been indicated that by promulgation of Regulations the Government have consistently tried to protect them from exploitation.

But one cannot help observing that these afflictions are rooted in the ignorance of the tribesmen which only time and concerted efforts can overcome. Further, much has been said about the positive measures of development which one hopes would be rewarded with their economic upliftment. Thus the two fronts on which attack is being mounted during the Fifth Plan are exploitation and poverty. The powerful tool of these measures will be co-operatives. In the tribal areas the role of co-operatives is being enlarged to include the following objectives -

- a) to provide production credit and agricultural inputs,
- b) to market surplus agricultural and minor forest produce,
- c) to supply to the tribal at reasonable and controlled prices consumer necessities like salt, kerosene, ragi, cotton cloth, sugar etc.
- d) to advance co-operative education.

In other words, for the tribal areas the Government co-operatives are envisaged. If the tribal people are enabled to complete the various transactions under one roof i.e. the roof of the co-operative, they will have reason to feel satisfied. If not, they are likely to turn away and, instead of approaching the respective Government agencies, they will, as is their wont, wind their way to the money lender's and the whole train of events will follow.

Attempts have been made to answer the two questions set forth in the beginning. The factors which impede tribal development to be placed on a different remedial footing from rural development in general have been ex-

plained. In a nut shell, it may be said that the tribal world has some outstanding characteristics which call for specific solutions, different from the usual empirical prescriptions. The conclusion will be incomplete if this theme is not pursued logically further. The non-tribal "civilised" members of the Indian community are tending to acquire a dead uniformity everywhere, which surprises one. In respect of dress, manners, education, modes of thought they are so to speak, carbon copies of the Westerners, and this emerges all over the world in a disquieting manner. In this State the non-tribal elements belonging to different parts have a lot in common, a little closeness is approximated to a considerable degree of unity. Between the tribal and the tribal, however, there is a good deal of difference. Few will dispute this fact. The point needing emphasis is that even between members of two different tribes, the divergence might be very wide. Members of the advanced Bhuiyan tribe and those of the isolated Jang tribe living in the same district of Kanchal may be compared. If we take members of the two tribes who are at the opposite ends of the scale of economic backwardness and advancement, the latter will be far more developed indeed. In consequence of kaleidoscopic changes among the 62 Scheduled Tribes of Orissa, the development trend it has to be, is specific. For instance, even in a small number of cases, the tribes have specific locations. Hence to an extent, the task of planning and execution of development schemes becomes less complex.

A final question is posed in the end thesis. A reference has been made earlier to one school of thought which is sceptical about the results of too great an interference in tribal life. This point on has been worrying tribologists. Should the State take up the develop-

ment processes of the tribal peoples in the light of the present day knowledge and understanding with the inevitable consequences of introduction of distortions in the life? Will it not be more prudent to let them take the suit and fashion the development of their own after their genius, though this might mean considerable delay? Another difficulty about the second alternative is that the influx of certain modern forces into the tribal land is inexorable and if an impulse is lost the sense of

direction may be lost. But, if a positive direction is essential what should be its nature and extent? There is no doubt that the state has to be mounted on exploitation and poverty. Can't we achieve the purpose without harming the tribal societies and traditions and practices? Can't we preserve the open frank and honest character of the tribal peoples? Can't we allow their song dance and religious continues to sweeten their lives in the same way as these have done for centuries?

Development, Cultural Management and Anthropology

GOPAL SARAN

Abstract: This lecture delivered by the Author on March 25, 1974 at the Tribal and Minority Research and Training Institute of Orissa, Bhubaneswar

I

There was a time when I thought that a very sharp distinction between theoretical anthropology and applied anthropology was possible to maintain. I still hold that anthropology is not an ameliorative science, but in the present-day world anthropology has to prove its worth in grappling with the problems of peoples. Now we have got over the illusion that human variability is unlimited and the main task of anthropology is to portray it. It should not, however, be assumed that the profession has abandoned its practice of studying each culture in its own terms. To the extent teaching of anthropology is aimed at creating better understanding of the other person's viewpoint, it certainly has in view the application of the knowledge accumulated by its devoted scholars. As Eric Wolf says, "Those who search in the anthropological literature for 'how-to-do-it' books will search in vain. For what the anthropologist contributes to these projects is not gadgetry, but the spirit of flexible inquiry. He takes his stand against petty ethnocentrism against the thoughtless and soulless application of principles and methods derived from one cultural setting but

attributed to another which is different.

Wolf, 1964 P. 25)

A. L. Kroeber was very fond of describing anthropological approach as akin to that of natural history. He was quite willing to concede the possibility of a natural science-oriented anthropology. He delivered a lecture on "Values as Subject of Natural Science Inquiry" before the 1964 AGS of America. For him, however, anthropology's relations with the humanities was the closest. He was not a straws of the encroachment of social science upon anthropology because the former to him, was signified by constructing systems of general proposition and had an ameliorative utilitarian bias. I think Eric Wolf has aptly put that anthropology is "partly in history, partly in literature, partly in natural science and partly in social science. It strives to study men both from within and from without, it represents both a manner of looking at man and a vision of man—the most scientific of the humanities, the most humanist of the sciences". In an age of increased specialization, it strives to be

above specially to connect and to articulate them" (Wolf 1964: 88).

Among all the disciplines interested in studying man in society, anthropology is most distinctive because of its uncommon reliance on the particular. The other social scientists approach reality with a hypothesis. But before selecting the appropriate variables for analysis, the anthropologist must view the social situation in all its richness and texture. Experience "tells him that he cannot take things at their face value. What seems most simple and most obvious may turn out to be the most complicated. Like the humanist, the anthropologist attaches the utmost importance to the individual case. But unlike the artist who can create his work of art, the anthropologist analyses something which already exists and which he has done nothing to create. Moreover, the anthropologist has an unknown way to rise above the particularism of a case to compare and contrast it with others and to arrive at some kind of a regularity. These words describing anthropology are not intended as a textbook-type prescription of what anthropology is about. It is intended to indicate the parameters within which we can find what anthropology can, or cannot do with regard to the issues of development and cultural management.

II

The economist, W. Arthur Lewis states that "The economist who studies the non-market economy has to abandon most of what he has learnt and adopts the techniques of the ethnologist" quoted in Dalton 1971: 354. It is worth noting that among the disciplines usually called social science, economics and anthropology are quite unlike in the subject matter, procedure and professional tradition. Economics is almost exclu-

sively concerned with industrialized and developed forms of economies and found in the West and is concerned with the analysis of large-scale processes concerned with price, income, public finance, money and banking. The economists do not bother about folk views and behaviour of the people. Small-scale and village level economies do not receive much attention of the economists. They also exclude institutions, matters relating to social organization and culture from their analytical in-crosts" Dalton, 1971: 354.

There is no tradition of detailed field work in economics but economics is strong in having developed a formal theory of an abstract kind and has been very much concerned with formal analysis which is consciously designed for policy making.

The anthropological tradition is radically different. Anthropology has not developed a highly formal theory. Pragmatic tradition in anthropology is very weak and generalizations have not been arrived at with a view to formulating theories. Detailed field work based on face-to-face inquiry is the most important part of training and research in the discipline. Empirical investigation has been concerned with "other cultures" and the unit of observation and analysis is a small tribal or village-level community. Concerned with the study of human behaviour in its broad socio-cultural setting the anthropologist is pre-occupied with the interaction of economic and non-economic activities, institutions and roles in the small society, even when his primary focus is economics alone.

In view of the fundamental differences between economics and anthropology it is not surprising that quite different conceptions are found among economists and anthropologists regarding

what the process of development consists of. Let us ask what we mean by development, of what development consists of and what can be developed. As an economist, I am interested in providing sufficient material incentives to the people. They might consist of profitable prices for cash crops or skills resources and equipment to start agricultural extension services, to build roads and to acquire transport facilities for farms to market or to obtain credit. The villagers have to be induced to take up new economic activities and to utilize new technologies. The economist views "development" as a longrun, continuing process of new enterprises and diversified activities and technologies so that community income may rise continually (Dalton 1971: 275). This view of development attributes primacy to economic reconstruction. It assumes that an undeveloped economy can be developed by replacing either the old and outmoded parts of the out of date traditional economic machine or by the substitution of the old machine by a new and more improved machine. The model of the new parts or the whole machine is provided by the developed and industrialized economies of the Western countries.

Very few economists will concede that economic theory is culture bound. It is the outgrowth of the analysis of the complex organizations, special structures and problems of large-scale industrialized and developed economies of the capitalist West. But an unprecedented situation arose, beginning with the independence of India in 1947. About a hundred countries in Asia and Africa, covering vast geographical tracts, and containing most of the world's population have emerged as new sovereign States. These countries were, in most cases poor at the time of their independence. The problem

before their leaders was to embark on the course of a systematic national economic development. In India, particularly, and in most other underdeveloped countries also, it was felt that planned economic development was the only way out of the most distressing state of affairs. In India the idea of a welfare state within a democratic set-up forced the then leaders to plan the economic development of the country so as to promote social welfare in general and welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in particular. The idea of democratic planning at the national level was unique. Western economics and social activities and institutions were the results of unplanned and non-directed growth processes within a democratic set-up. The Soviet model posited the idea of a planned and regimented economic development. The primary emphasis on economics necessitated curbing of political and personal liberties without much scope for freedom of thought and action.

The situation in the Third World is pretty complicated, the structures processes, and problems are too different for the formulation of a single analytical model of underdevelopment. What the Western countries did in different contexts at different times through the Industrial revolutions, the French revolution and their nation building activities in Mercantile periods are being attempted by the new nations all at a time in a synthetic form. They want to develop economically, technologically, politically and culturally, deliberately consciously and quickly. One disheartening feature of the planned development in the Third World is that despite an avowed intention of all round development in actual practice economic planning has acquired pride of place. It has been generally

observed that if a country is less developed economically, primary emphasis on economic analysis and policy is less likely to develop that aspect of culture. Dalton has very aptly remarked that for that subset of under developed economies which is the least developed, only a narrow range of economics is directly applicable, and the most formidable problems encountered are socio-economic and purely political and social problems in creating modern nation-wide institutions' (Dalton, 1971: 353). If this is true, then what will happen to the idea of pure economic development unpoluted by non-economic factors? There are development economists in the Western countries who are critical of conventional economics and are aware that the Western agricultural concept like "green revolution" cannot be utilized in analysing economic structures found in the under developed countries. They also feel that those countries' social and political processes and problems are a barrier to economic development. This admission on the part of the development economists relating to the irritating influence of socio-political aspects on economic aspects brings them closer to the anthropologist's contention that in aspect of a people's life can be seen in isolation to the other aspects.

I had promised to present the anthropological perspective on development. If economics is distinctive for its emphasis on macro-development of national economies, anthropology's distinctiveness can be said to lie in micro-development. The action anthropology programmes mostly centre upon the introduction of one or two specific innovations like improved seeds, mosquito or pest control etc. through a visiting expert in temporary residence. This agent of change should know the history and the present

structure of the village community. The anthropologist does not tire out of stressing "the cultural complexity of innovations: the many resistances to innovation stemming from the people's values, attitudes, social relationships and past experiences—and the social consequences of innovations, that the adoption of a steel axe can induce a train of unforeseen social consequence changed relationships and even new conflicting situations". (Dalton, 1971: 275-76).

It is undoubtedly true that an anthropological literature provides useful leads to visiting experts such as Peace Corps volunteers, public health and family planning workers or agricultural extension agents. These persons visit the rural folk for a short period to introduce specific innovations. The task which these people perform is useful. To the extent the anthropologist's knowledge comes handy to them, it is not without value. But, it is felt enough to expect that applied anthropology's literature will contain information about post colonial social and economic policies and politics and knowledge about the processes of development which the sister disciplines are providing. It is generally assumed in the anthropological circles, that we are competent to talk only of micro-development and therefore our studies are of little relevance to understanding macro-development processes like modernisation, nation building etc.

It is high time we, the anthropologists, realized that we lived in a highly complex and competitive world where selfishness about one's potentiality may seem to others to be an inherent weakness of the discipline rather than modesty of its votaries. For instance, the anthropologist knows very well that he cannot study a village community in complete isolation. In a complex

society the village is linked with other villages, the region and the whole nation in the form of concentric circles. The anthropologist cannot understand the happenings in the village on the basis of the situation which prevails within the confines of the village itself. Therefore even if the focus of his study is a village or a group of villages, he cannot remain unacquainted with the trends and processes which are in operation in the wider spheres of the region and the nation. The program, mores, the policies and the legal and constitutional decisions taken at the highest level percolate, through different avenues and agencies, to the villages as well. No anthropologist worth his salt, however, microscopic he may be in the area of his actual coverage, can ignore or by-pass them. Edward Shils has realized that the primary need in the study of new states is to have a comprehensive view that is a view of the whole society. The portion of anthropology among all the social science disciplines has been aptly described by Shils thus, "Owing, perhaps, to the strength of the tradition of intensive one-man inquiry that has been fostered by social anthropology, from which so many of the students of the new states have come and the literature of which is so essential to the understanding of the social setting of the new states, their comprehensive study by techniques that are appropriate has begun in the right direction" (Shils, 1971: 8).

The preceding paragraphs clearly indicate the vast difference between the anthropologists' self image of their discipline and the image of anthropology formed by non anthropologists. Eric Wolf has eloquently pointed out the reason as well as the danger of such a self-image by the anthropologists in these words "Anthropologists are apt to be modest about the possibilities of

their discipline, to discuss the wider implications of their knowledge with diffidence. Yet in our time such attitudes enshrine a danger, the danger of separation between private faith in science and public defense of that faith of a divorce between vision and act, to the detriment of vision that can alone justify the act" (Wod, 1964: 87).

III

Dalton says that the term "development" means the same thing for the economists as "modernization" does for the political scientists; the expression "role differentiation" conveys to the sociologists the same idea as "culture change" does to the anthropologists. I do not think all these words means the same thing but this point is not of vital significance. The basic issue is whether those who advocate economic development are also aware of the consequences of the planned changes. My understanding is that either due to ignorance or through sheer lack of vision the socio-cultural consequences of economic innovations are not anticipated or cared for. For instance neither those who drafted the land reform bills for the abolition of zamindari, nor those who were directly affected by such legislation could guess the far reaching changes in critical relationships which they brought about. The anthropological perspective of seeing things in their inter relationship tells us today that the impact of these legislations were so wide ranging because along with them came into force the law of universal adult franchise and the concept of society's responsibilities towards some of the most backward and underprivileged sections of the population. The difficulty arises because of the unintended consequences of the economic policies. While we may be relatively more clear about our economic goals, I wonder if we are aware of

DEVELOPMENT, CULTURAL MANAGEMENT

the philosophy behind economic development and modernization. For instance, Dalton says that the local social security and the tendency to turn inward which is so distinctive of the traditional economies changes into commercialism, cash earning, and the breakdown of self-sufficiency, making people turn outward when a system becomes economically developed.

Modernization consists of new activities which displace local dependence with external dependence on markets and governmental services and, by so doing, it integrates the village community into the region, the nation, and, through foreign trade transactions, into the rest of the world. Almost all the important innovations that comprise modernization reduce household dependence on the village local community, its physical environment and network of social relationships, and increase household dependence on local, national and international market networks. From the viewpoint of individual persons, real opportunities and mobility as well as real income are increased with the more and diversified transactions and opportunities" Dalton, 1971:28.

But at the risk of being called a proponent of the status quo and anti-development, let me ask the question whether the consequences of economic development as enumerated by Dalton in the preceding quotation are desirable for our countrymen. No one would oppose the introduction of improved technologies for better agricultural production. It is necessary that the same family and social pattern must emerge as in the West or else we shall not be called developed? For instance, Dalton says that with economic improvement in Indian villages, traditional social practices have not been given up. According to him, one

indicator of social change is movement to nuclear households. He seems to lament that "economic incentives work to keep the extended family together". He takes the family as one of the risk-sharing devices in an agricultural system which was traditional and static and where opportunities to earn livelihood outside the field of agriculture were few. This perspective is so typical of a Western social Scientist who views groups and institutions as mere instrumentalities. Practically every member of this audience knows that the family for an Indian is not merely an economic club. More important than this are the emotional, relational, educational and spiritual functions of the family. For scores of Indians it is the centre of most of activities. So important is the family and the wider kin group for most of us that we cannot find a parallel to it in the present-day so-called "individualized" system of the West.

To me it seems that economic development ought not to be tied up with the break-up of our family system. This is the reason why I would like to see a co-ordination between planned economic development and preservation of our traditional Indian values through a proper policy of cultural assessment. I do not see any justification in viewing the success of the co-operatives and the community development programmes in association with economic modernization, commercialization, sophisticated agricultural technology, and rural incomes. The welfare of the individual ought not to be seen as something to be gained in isolation of the welfare of the family and the community as a whole. Most Western commentators, Western anthropologists like Dalton seem to see an inevitable clash between the opportunities for the development of the individual and these

for the group. Our perspective is different because we do not see a clash between the two.

Let us take another example. This time I shall speak of the caste system. In our Constitution, we have enshrined the basic value to end all kinds of discrimination including discrimination in the name of caste. Perhaps no sensible person will deny that there are respectable aspects of the caste system which must be done away with. Wherever equal opportunities are to be provided to all the citizens of the country and selections for positions have to be made on merit, caste should have no place in it. But I do not think that every Hindu should have equal right with a priest in temple

Both for some Western commentators as well as for our political leaders the caste system is the usual whipping boy. The assumption is that caste is an evil. It is against the establishment of a truly egalitarian and democratic society. So if Indians have to be economically developed and politically strong the caste system must be eradicated. I am simply amazed at the lack of realization that such a proposition is totally impractical. I do not think anybody has suggested what the nature of the Indian society would be if somehow we succeeded in eradicating the caste system. I hasten to add however, that I do not mean to suggest that the caste disabilities should not be eradicated.

Dalton says that "the weaker the caste system is, the higher (are) the rural income and development" (Dalton 1971: 322). In one of his studies he finds evidence that the caste system and traditional attitudes exercise a retarding influence on economic modernization of rural India. The obvious implication here is that India will remain economically

medieval as long as the caste system exists. Well, let us abolish the caste system if we can. What depresses me is the fact that our planners seem to assume that by introducing sophisticated economic devices, they will have accomplished the task of social reconstruction. When the plan targets are not attained, they blame the caste system and superstitions of the ignorant people for their failures. This amounts to ignoring the role of a very significant factor. Would it not be better to acknowledge the reality of the caste system as well as the superstitions of the people and to plan for the future of an economic future of the different sections of our population? In other words, at present we close our eyes to the contemporary socio-cultural realities and expect that economic changes will automatically initiate desirable social reformation as well. I am, on the other hand, pleading here for a thorough understanding of our present-day socio-cultural realities necessary to have a clear-cut idea of what is to be socially reconstructed. This should be based on the proper sense of values and on the Indian conception of good life. Let us not be victims of cheap slogans, clichés and half-backed ideas of Western oriented an egalitarian society. Here it will be worthwhile to mention that the traditional village economy, in which different functions were assigned to different caste groups, was based on the idea of co-operation and the good of the whole community. Commercialism on the other hand is based on welfare of the individual and is competitive to the core. We can choose the option which, we think, will bring about the greatest good of the greatest number. Let us do this with the knowledge gained after proper scrutiny of facts.

DEVELOPMENT, CULTURAL MANAGEMENT

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Stereotypes of the tribes of Pasighat (Arunachal Pradesh) about fifteen ethnic groups*

N. PATNAIK

Introduction and Hypothesis

Strange are the ways in which people unconsciously react towards the strangers and the aliens at the first sight. First impressions last, though they may undergo modifications with greater contact. Each of us has an archetype of human beings at the back of the mind. Our attitude is favourable or unfavourable to the strange visitor accordingly as he conforms or does not conform to the prototype. 'Birds of the same feathers flock together' runs the proverb. But as the world is full of heterogeneous groups of people we have to strike a harmonious relationship between one group and another for the sake of peace, amity and happy living. Solution of the tension wherever it is present depends to a great extent on how we counteract the influences of the forces of conflict. This paper is an objective study of the impressions formed by the tribes of Pasighat about fifteen different groups

Indian nationals and the aliens. The impressions formed by one ethnic group of another is technically called 'Stereotypes', that is, picture formed in the mind of the former regarding the latter.

Though Arunachal Pradesh (previously called NEFA) was kept by the of Indian nationals and the aliens. The British authorities in isolation from the rest of the country as a policy of Administration, the tribes of this territory have had a fair degree of contact with the people of the other parts of India through trade and commerce fairs and festivals. The people of this region had more commercial contacts with the Tibetans than with the Indians. The contact with the Assamese was much closer than with people of any other parts of India. More often than not, such contacts between the Assamese and the tribes of the Arunachal Pradesh were for the purpose of trade and commerce and mark as the sacred centuries during British rule.

* This study which is presented in this paper is a part of the Research project on Tribal Tension in India. One of the study areas of the research project was Nang District of Arunachal Pradesh.

STEREOTYPES OF THE TRIBES

Though the policy of isolation continues in the form of the Inner line regulation which forbids indiscriminate entrance of the outsiders into the territory it is in force for the benefit of the inhabitants of Arunachal Pradesh. Unlike the British Government which had little interest in developing this part of the country the Government of India, have been taking keen interest in bringing about allround development and hastening the national integration for purposes of effective administration.

This change in attitude of the government has stepped up the establishment of a net-work of administrative machinery and introduction of various socio-economic welfare measures in Arunachal Pradesh. Various categories of administrators, officers and public servants from all over India are employed in various jobs in Arunachal Pradesh and are in constant contact with its inhabitants through their services. Recently the road communications have been immensely developed making it possible to ply vehicular traffic into this territory. Although there is no commercial company operating a service of airlines, the Indian air force plies its air-craft over the territory and make landing at certain places for the purpose of airlift of the officers and public in emergencies, and for the air drop of provisions in the inaccessible regions. Such facilities have enabled the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh to come in contact with the modern modes of communication and the personnel operating them. Thus the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have been, for quite a long time by now, in close contact with the administrators, medical officers, school teachers, business men, army and police personnel who are mostly outsiders. The recent international confrontation which took place in the

border area has provided opportunities to the people of Arunachal Pradesh to witness the military operations of the countries which were in conflict with one another and such occasions have developed certain stereotypes in the mind of the people about military and army personnel.

Thus, the people of Arunachal Pradesh have been in contact with various types of people from India and outside and have developed different pictures and perceptions about them depending upon the circumstances in which the contacts were established and the duration of the contact. The purpose of this paper is to find out what type of stereotypes the tribes of Pasighat, one of the Subdivisions of Siang district, Arunachal Pradesh have formed of different groups of people with whom they have come in contact in the recent times and about whom they have some knowledge.

Pasighat is the most important place in the whole of Arunachal Pradesh. It is well connected by road and is commercially well developed. It is the centre of educational advancement as it has a Degree College in its town. The people of this place are politically more conscious than those of the other parts of Arunachal Pradesh. It is also agriculturally more developed than the other parts of the territory. Also, most of the political leaders and highly educated persons hail from this place.

Pasighat is so to say, the nerve centre of Arunachal Pradesh. Although the findings of a study on the stereotypes of the tribes of Pasighat alone may not be representative of the whole of Arunachal Pradesh, it is an important study as it covers its core area and reveals the stereotypes of its political, educational and economic elites.

Sample of the study

The sample of responsive observers consists of 68 college and school students, government servants and 4 leaders, all of whom are tribal in origin, economically progressive and are between 18 and 35 years of age. They have a fairly good knowledge of English.

Procedure

As pointed out earlier, we administered a schedule on stereotypes containing 103 positive and negative attributes. We presented the list of the attributes to each of the 68 objects of anthropological study of Pasighat and allowed them time to go over the list and comprehend the issue and clear their doubts, if any, and then select at least five attributes for each of the 15 ethnic groups which, in their opinion would most correctly describe the group concerned. We also urged them to place the serial number of the attributes of their choice against the respective groups in order of importance. We also made it clear to them that if the given attributes did not fully describe any of the groups included in the study they should feel free to use any other attributes of their choice. The next thing which we asked them to do was to arrange the 15 groups in order of preference for association. For the sake of explanation we may add that the placing of the selected attributes constitutes the trait method and the arrangement of the groups in order of preference constitutes the preference method.

We analysed the responses in the same manner as was done by S. C. Panchbhui¹ in his study of stereotypes. The procedure of analysis is quoted below.

The unfavourable ratio (a ratio) for a stereotyped group has been deduced by dividing the total number of unfavourable stereotypes (frequencies by the favourable ones given to that group by a sample. The favourable marks (F Marks) are found out by a scoring process in which the most preferred group gets as many marks as number of groups, being arranged on the preference scale and with a gradual reduction by one mark the least preferred on the last placed secures only one mark.

Analysis

The results of Analysis are tabulated in three tables. Table 1 gives the top five attributes which were more frequently checked than the others by the respondents and the percentages of respondents checking each of these attributes for each group.

The groups of peoples of the 4 different categories as mentioned above are arranged below in order of the most favourable to the most unfavourable with the help of Table 1.

It will be seen in Table 1 that in each case we arranged the 5 attributes, one below the other, according to the per cent frequencies, the highest frequency remaining at the top and the lowest at the bottom. Then we arranged the groups in order of the frequencies of the top-most attributes. The group whose first attribute recorded the highest frequency was mentioned as the number '1' in the list and the group having the lowest frequency of its first attribute was mentioned as the number '15' in the list. The other groups were listed in between these two groups in order of their respective frequencies.

Panchbhui S. C. "The Levels of Regional and National Identification and Inter-group Relations Among Harijans and Adivasis," *J. Indian Anthropol. Soc.*, 2: 75-83 (1967).

The Table shows that in the cases of the Sikh, the Nepali, the Bengali, the Bangladeshi people, the Marwadi, the Assamese, the Indian, the European Christian, the Tibetan and the Indian Christian, the first attribute is a favourable one whereas in the cases of the tribes of the plains, the Chinese, the Muslim, the Bihari and the Bhutia, the first attribute is an unfavourable one.

The percentage frequency of the first attribute in the case of the Sikh is the highest. It means that the number of the Sikhs contacted by the tribes of Pasighat is greater than the number of peoples listed in the table. The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh in general are the earliest inhabitants and they form the majority. But they have been referred to by a small number of respondents. It is very difficult to ascertain the attitude of the respondents in this regard. Recently some covert hostility has developed in the mind of the tribes of Pasighat towards the Assamese. Issues like boundary dispute and the medium of instruction have accentuated the tension between them.

In regard to the different attitude which the tribes of Pasighat have towards the Tibetans we feel that it may be due to their feeling of ethnic superiority which has been responsible for such attitude. The Adis which include mainly the Gailong and the Monivong tribes of Ssang District consider themselves to be superior to the other tribal communities such as the Manpa of Bumdita who are Tibetan in origin. This factor has a force to prejudice the respondents, who are mostly the Adis, against the Tibetans. This prejudice has recently taken place among the leaders of Arunachal Pradesh to give up all regional and ethnic differences and regard all tribes inhabiting Arunachal Pradesh as one people of an integrated territory.

Table 1 also gives the percentages of favourable and unfavourable qualities in respect of the first five characteristics attributed by the respondents to each of the fifteen groups. We have used them for determining which groups are favourable and which are not favourable and the extent of their likes and dislikes. For the analysis of this problem we have divided the 15 groups into four categories according to their nationality and place of residence. The categories are as follows:—

- (1) Groups of peoples of Indian Nationality residing in India— the Sikh, the Nepali, the Bengali, the Marwadi, the Assamese, the tribes of the plains, the Muslim, the Bihari, the Indian Christian.
- (2) Groups of peoples of other Nationalities resident in India— the Nepali, the European Christian, the Tibetan, the Bhutia.
- (3) Groups of peoples of foreign Nationality— the Bangladeshi and the Chinese peoples.
- (4) People of India as a whole— the Indian.

We have arranged the 15 groups of the four categories in the Table 2 in order of favourableness—unfavourableness as expressed by the respondents.

The table shows that in cases of the European Christian and the Bangladeshi people all the five attributes are favourable. It means that the respondents have all positive stereotypes in their mind about these two ethnic groups. Next in order, are the Sikh, the Bengali and the Indian Christian of the first category, the Tibetan of the second category and the Indian of the fourth category. The favourable stereotypes constitute 80 per cent in such cases. Next in order, are the Assamese, the tribes of the plains and the Bihari of

the first category and the Nepali of the second category. About such groups the favourable stereotypes are only 60 per cent.

The groups of peoples about whom the respondents have more negative stereotypes than the positive ones are the Marwadi, the Chinese and the Muslim. In the favourable-unfavourable scale the European Christian and the Bangladesh people are at the favourable end and the Muslim at the unfavourable end, and the other groups occupy different positions between them in the scale. For example the Indians in general about whom the respondents have more positive stereotypes occupy a position which is nearer to the favourable pole of the scale. In contrast, the Chinese about whom the respondents have more negative stereotypes occupy a place which is closer to the unfavourable pole of the scale.

We have also analysed the problem of disposition of the respondents towards the groups under study by means of L ratio and F marks which are presented in the Table 3. The table shows that the L ratio of 0.253 given to the Indian group shows an attitude of the highest favour to them. Contrasted with this the L ratio 1.4, given to the Muslim shows a disposition of greater disfavour towards them. In between the two groups fall the other groups of which the Bangladesh people, the Tibetan, the European Christian, the Sikh and the Bengali fall within the range of favourable disposition in decreasing order and the tribes of the plain, the Assamese, the Bihari, the Nepali, the Marwadi and the Chinese fall within the range of unfavourable disposition in an increasing order. The Bhutia group occupies the border zone between the favourable and unfavourable images.

The results of the analysis of F marks given to the different groups under study conforms more or less to those of the L-ratio. They correspond more closely to the Indian group which is given the 2nd rank in the F marks, and which is almost the top position in the favourable disposition. The Muslim and the Chinese are given the 14th and 15th rank, respectively, which is the lowest position in the unfavourable disposition. Although the ranks obtained on L-ratios and on F-marks co-relate with one another statistically the value of co-relation is weak. It is more so in the cases of the 12 intermediate groups than in those of the Indians who are looked upon by the natives of the area with the greatest favour. The Chinese and the Muslim are looked down upon and the impressions formed of them are very unfavourable.

Because of meagre samples and the limited study of the area, it is difficult to generalize for the whole of Arunachal Pradesh in terms of the findings of this study. It is, therefore, necessary to take up similar studies on stereotypes in different parts of Arunachal Pradesh to discover the attitude and image which the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh as a whole have formed of the different Indian nationalities and the alien ethnic groups. An extensive and intensive study of on a larger scale will reveal the real picture of the inter-ethnic stereotypes and based on such studies suitable measures can be taken to eliminate many antisocial forces such as casteism, tribal communalism, misdirected racialism and parochial regionalism wherever and in whatever form they are found. Out of such studies will also follow ways and means by which intra and inter-ethnic emotional integration can be encouraged on national scale.

Table I

PASIGHAT SUB-DIVISION

Stereotypes attributed to different groups by all respondents (educated & uneducated) (Numbers indicate per cent frequencies)

1. SIKH			2. NEPALI			3. BENGALI			4. BANGLADESHI PEOPLE		
	Per cent	Attribute		Per cent	Attribute		Per cent	Attribute		Per cent	Attribute
Brave	42.6			39.7	Arrogant		38.3	Brave		55.3	
Active	27.9			36.8	Clever		29.4	Clever		27.9	
Beard	29.0			26.5	Cultured		23.2	Active		23.5	
Adventurous	19.1			23.6	Ambitious		23.5	Ambitious		17.6	
Hot tempered	13.2			22.0	Economic		22.0	Bold		16.2	
{ Favourable	80.0			60.0	Comm.ing		80.0	Favourable		100.0	
{ Unfavourable	20.0			40.0	{ Favourable		20.0	{ Unfavourable			
					{ Unfavourable						
5. MARWADI			6. ASSAMESE			7. INDIAN			8. TRIBES OF THE PLAINS		
Economic	32.1			32.3	Active		29.4	Backward		55.0	
Careless	27.9			29.4	Cultured		20.5	Brave		14.7	
Clever	22.0			20.4	Carless		20.0	Faithful		14.7	
Naïve	17.6			26.8	Active		16.2	Active		11.8	
Exploiter	17.6			22.0	Backward		16.2	Light		10.3	
{ Favourable	40.0			60.0	Friedly		80.0	{ Favourable		50.0	
{ Unfavourable	60.0			40.0	{ Favourable		20.0	{ Unfavourable		40.0	
					{ Unfavourable						
9. EUROPEAN CHRISTIAN			10. TIBETAN			11. CHINESE			12. MUSLIM		
Active	33.5			20.6	Religious		20.1	Aggressive		7.6	
Adventurous	22.0			19.1	Honest		19.1	Dangerous		7.6	
Cultured	20.1			17.6	Backward		19.1	Casual		14.7	
Disciplined	19.1			17.6	Gentle		19.1	Cruel		16.7	
{ Brave	17.6			14.7	Peace Loving		17.6	Religious		13.2	
{ Favourable	100.0			80.0	{ Favourable		40.0	{ Favourable		30.0	
				20.0	{ Unfavourable		60.0	{ Unfavourable		70.0	
					{ Unfavourable						
13. BHUTIA			14. BHUTIA			15. INDIAN CHRISTIAN					
Physically fit	16.2			13.2	Active		11.8				
Economic	16.2			13.2	Drunkard		11.8				
Backward	14.7			13.2	Ready		11.8				
Religious	14.7			13.2	Ambitious		10.3				
Active	14.7			11.8	Co-operative		10.3				
{ Favourable	60.0			30.0	{ Favourable		80.0				
{ Unfavourable	40.0			70.0	{ Unfavourable		20.0				

Table II

Class of peoples	F = 00%		F = 30%		F = 60%		F = 90%		F = 100%	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1			(a) Sutch	(a) Vietnamese	(a) Marwadi		(a) Muslim			
			(b) Bengalis	(b) Tribes of the plains						
			(c) Indian Christians	(c) Bihari						
2	(a) European		(a) Tibetan	(a) Nepali		(a) Scythia				
3	(a) Bangladesh people				(a) Chinese					
4			(a) Indian							

Table-III
PASIGHAT SUB-DIVISION

L Ranks and F Marks given to different groups by the respondents (educarea and leaders who are educated)

Group	L ranks	Ranks on L-rank	Group	F marks	Ranks on F-marks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Indian ..	0.253	1	1. Assamese ..	62.5	1
2. Bangladesh people ..	0.359	2	2. Indian ..	60.1	2
3. Tibetan ..	0.391	3	3. Bengali ..	41.6	3
4. European Christian ..	0.392	4	4. Bihari ..	39.1	4
5. Sikh ..	0.438	5	5. Indian Christian.	39.6	5
6. Muslim Christian ..	0.516	6	6. Tibetan or Garo chieftain	35.7	6
7. Bengali ..	0.602	7	7. Nepali ..	35.5	7
8. Bhutia ..	0.644	8	8. Bhutia ..	31.7	8
9. Tibetan or Garo ..	0.683	9	9. European Christian.	31.2	9
10. Assamese ..	0.671	10	10. Sikh ..	30.4	10
11. Bihari ..	0.693	11	11. Bangladesh people	30.0	11
12. Nepali ..	0.685	12	12. Marwadi ..	24.3	12
13. Marwadi ..	1.064	13	13. Tibetan ..	24.0	13
14. Chantor ..	1.293	14	14. Muslim ..	18.0	14
15. Muslim ..	1.427	15	15. Chinese ..	18.6	15

Rank not be wrong given obtained by L method and ranks obtained by F-method is 0.257.

Stratification and discrimination among three Harijan castes in a coastal village of Orissa

N. K. BEHLRA

The Indian Social System is both stratified and segmentary. The hallmark of the caste society is its structural stratification, which, according to Sorokin "means the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superposed classes. It is manifested in the existence of upper and lower layers. Its basis and very essence consist in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and prohibitions, social power and influences among members of a society" (1965: 570).

Castes are hierarchically graded on the basis of the prevailing concept of rit in purity and pollution in the social order in which each occupies a specific position and the structural distance between one caste and another may be great or small, which depends upon their respective position in the total order. Thus social stratification on hierarchy is the central feature of the caste system.

Likewise, the central feature of each caste is its segmentary character. A caste is segmented into several endogamous units, each of which constitutes

a sub-caste. The segmentation of a caste into endogamous units, has persisted from very early times. A sub-caste retains all the features of the caste and represents it in the local community. Occupational specialization and cultural variation are the main reasons of caste segmentation.

In the popular folk usage the vernacular word 'jati' always refers to the sub-caste because a caste in the Hindu social organization, is never a functional unit. Similarly, the term *varna*, in the popular folk usages, is seldom referred to connote 'the four classes' into which the Rigvedic society was divided, that is, the three categories of the twice-born, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and fourthly, the Sudra below whom were the out-castes.

Hutton 1963: 84.

But rather all the four varna or classes are grouped together terminologically as *Naparna* Hindu caste (Hindu) and are thus differentiated from the out-castes, who are designated as *Aparna* Hindu. Hutton terms the outcastes as exterior castes (1963: IX) since traditionally they remained on the periphery of the Hindu castes,

STRATIFICATION AND DISCRIMINATION

There is no gainsaying the fact that the caste system is based on a system of stratification and is also a closed status group (Leach, 1962: 1) where there is no vertical mobility between the strata and the membership of a caste is ascriptive, i.e., it is determined by birth.

There has been so much talking about caste mobility but all the talks are yet to be empirically validated. During the post independent period there has been some shift in the traditional moorings of the caste system. For instance, the strict endogamy of even one of the sub-castes of a particular caste has been broken in recent times whereas the caste endogamy still persists. Like commensality there has also been some change in commensality. But in this case the change has largely been confined to an individual's private commensal norm rather than to the public commensal standards of a caste. The following discussion will bear it out.

Mahadebaria is a multi-caste village in the Baikunika Block of Cuttack district. The village is situated on the left bank of the Kharsabola river almost near its confluence with the Brahmani river. The village consists of two wards, one is exclusively inhabited by 11 categories of caste Hindus, namely the Brahman, the Koran, the Khandavat, the Gudia (confectioner), the Gauda (milk man), the Budhel (carpenter), the Tel (oilman), the Liary (grain parcher), the Tanta (weaver), and the Bhatia (bard) and three 'exterior' castes, such as the Gokha (fisherman), the Mahuria (sahana, players) and the Pana (drummer and basket maker). The total population of the village is 1178.

The term 'exterior' states Hulton 'for the Hindu castes hitherto known as 'depressed' was originally suggested

by the Census Superintendent for Assam and was adopted in the report as the most satisfactory alternative to the unfortunate and depressing label 'Depressed classes' 1963: 193. Thus Hulton treats the term 'exterior' as more honourable than the appellation 'out caste' and for him the term 'exterior' is equivalent to the term *avarna* meaning outside the four *varnas* (1963: 193). During the post-independent period there is a growing tendency among the 'exterior' castes to identify themselves with the nomenclature of the 'Harijan'. In this discussion hereafter the 'exterior' castes will be referred to as the 'Harijan' or the untouchables.

In the past the Harijan castes of Mahadebaria village were living in a separate hamlet. Still now they continue to live being segregated from the caste Hindus. Within their ward they also did not live in an agglomerate manner. All the three Harijan castes, viz. the Gokha, the Mahuria and the Pana, lived separately maintaining their respective caste individuality. For example, the Gokha occupied the eastern end, the Mahuria, the middle position and Pana the western end of the ward. There are at present 22 Gokha families, two Mahuria families and 14 Pana families. The rule of spatial segregation has been relaxed in recent times but has not been totally waived. Within the last seven years two Pana families sold parts of their respective homestead lands to the Gokha families and the latter live in houses which they have built on their newly acquired plots. But this would not have been possible just three decades ago. This is an indication of the fact that the concept of defilement by physical touch has been sufficiently watered down, though not totally eradicated from the life of the village community.

In the total ranking order of the castes in the village the Harijan castes are assigned the lowest position being juxtaposed together. But among the three Harijan castes there is a clear cut order of ranking which is operative among them since time beyond memory. Among the three Harijan castes the Gokha occupied the highest position, the Pana the lowest position and the Mahuria in between them. The Pana caste was relegated to such a position because in the past particularly before Indian independence the Panas ate beef and collected hides from carcasses of bovine animals. The Mahuria caste occupied a higher position than the Pana caste as the Mahurias did not eat beef. But the reason of occupying the lower position in the caste constellation in respect of the Gokha caste is its practice of carrying out the sinful act of castrating male calves. The Gokha, who lived mainly on riverine fishing, enjoyed the highest position among these Harijan castes as they did not practise any sinful and iniquitous act.

Discrimination

Like the caste Hindus the Harijans also practised discrimination among themselves which ensued from their concept of caste differentiation based on the notion of caste purity and pollution. Their interaction is based on a tripartite categorization of their castes on the basis of ritual purity and defilement. The Gokha is regarded as a Nipanechhuan (water not acceptable) caste by the Mahuria and the Pana castes but not Achhuan (untouchable) whereas the latter two castes (Mahuria and Pana) are treated by the former Caste Gokha as not only Nipanechhuan but also as Achhuan. Of course, the concept of untouchability today thanks to governmental effort, has almost been done away with, but the notion of Nipanechhuan still persists.

The Mahuria is a Pannechhuan (water acceptable) caste for the Pana and not the *vice versa* the latter for its association with beef eating tradition, which is defiling, is a Nipanechhuan caste (water not acceptable) for the former but both of them do not regard each other as Achhuan (untouchable). This is probably for the fact that both these caste groups together make up the traditional band party in the area. The members of these two castes do not regard the Gokha as a Pan (water acceptable) caste, because they allege that the Gokhas do not strictly observe the birth and mortality pollution as they frequently go on month-long fishing voyages. The Gokhas also say that they are not required to observe any, when they are in the lap of the holiest of the holies i.e. Jala or water. But the Panas and Mahurias do not accept this logic of the Gokhas, and instead argue that a man, who is away from home during the time of pollution and cannot be contacted should observe it the day he comes to know of it. The Gokhas counter it by saying that 'once the whole lineage has observed pollution there is no necessity for the individual, who is a part of it to observe that again'. The Gokhas oriented their philosophy in this manner probably for the reason that observance of pollution in such a manner would hamper their livelihood and thus cause immense economic hardship.

Though the Panas and the Mahurias do not accept water from the Gokhas, they treat the latter as superior to themselves in the social order. This is obvious from the fact that in the past if a Pana or a Mahuria physically touched a Gokha then the latter considered himself to be defiled and purified himself by taking a bath. The concept of untouchability as a social stigma persists in some form or other both in public and private spheres.

STRATIFICATION AND DISCRIMINATION

None of these castes is served by Brahman priests or by any other ritual service castes such as Washermen and Barbers. Each of them has its own caste priest, called, Vaishnaba who belongs to the same caste but has acquired the knowledge of various rites. He does not accept any type of cooked food, such as, boiled, steamed, baked, fried, etc., or drink from his Jajaman or client. He accepts only dry snacks and rations from his Jajamans and sometimes cooks his own food if necessary.

The discrimination among these three Harijan castes is not only confined to physical touch but also to other aspects of life, such as, acceptance of food and drink, entry into houses, exchange on sale of manual labour, participation in each other's functions, participation in community functions etc.

The Gokhas do not accept any kind of prepared or processed food, including dry snacks from the Panas and the Mahurias, who are *Aechuanjati* or un-brotherable castes for the former. They only accept fruits and unprocessed raw vegetables from them. But a Gokha shares smoking of Chikim (Hashish smoking earthen pipes) with a Pana or a Mahuria as it does not touch one's lips. In respect of labour a Gokha does not give his manual labour either on exchange or hire basis for the construction or thatching of a house belonging to Pana or Mahuria. But he may do it for any sort of agricultural work. This is because the general orientation of the Hindu social system towards agriculture is somewhat catholic and since it is directly the life-sustaining occupation no caste stigma is associated with it.

The Panas and the Mahurias in turn do not accept cooked food and any sort of prepared beverage from the Gokhas

but they accept dry snacks, parboiled grains, parboiled rice, unboiled milk, prepared betel, processed tobacco, raw vegetables and fruits. If the fruits received from the Gokhas are processed and peeled off, then the Panas and the Mahurias get them washed in fresh water.

The Panas and the Mahurias sell their manual labour to the Gokhas for construction of new houses or for thatching new roofs and not for the repair of the old ones. They freely sell to and exchange with the Gokhas their manual labour for any sort of agricultural work.

The Panas treat the Mahurias as a *Panchhuan* caste, and as such, accept not only water from the latter but all sorts of food. Whereas the Mahurias do not accept water from the Panas. Likewise they also do not accept any food from the Panas excepting dry snacks and vegetables. The Mahurias say that they would not accept any food cooked in the *Handushafa* (kitchen) of the Panas. They also say that they would accept cooked food from the Panas if the same is cooked by a boy or unmarried man in metallic vessels or new earthen pots not in their domestic kitchens but elsewhere. In their concept children unmarried men and metallic vessels are not carriers of defilement. New earthen pots are not mutually unclean, they become so only after use.

As there are cannibal and communal restrictions among these Harijans on the basis of caste discrimination so also there are certain rules, norms regarding entry into houses. The whole house, starting from the front entrance to the backside exit, is restricted for the entry of some, whereas certain apartments of it are restricted for some others.

The Panas and the Mahurias are not allowed to enter the Gokha houses. A Pana or a Mahuria goes up to the front entrance or backdoor exit of a Gokha house. They may sit on the front as well as on the rear verandah. In case a Pana or a Mahuria takes his meal on the verandah of a Gokha house, emulsion of cowdung as purificator is sprinkled on that spot soon after he finishes his meal. In the past if a Pana or a Mahuria entered the house of a Gokha and the fact became known, then he was required to purify his house by performing *expiation* or *Prayaschitta* by his family priest, otherwise he used to be socially boycotted by his *Jathazaya* or Caste Assembly. But now a-days a Gokha is not required to perform *Prayaschitta* if a Pana or a Mahuria crossed the threshold of his house. This is a change in their attitude towards untouchability. However there has not been a general change in the attitude of all the three Harijan castes regarding the customary communal and house entry restrictions and whatever change has occurred it is in particular instances i.e., if a particular Gokha asks from the house of a Pana or Mahuria or grants him entry into his own house no longer the former is taken to task by his *Jathazaya* since such an act is contrary to public law. As such, there has been some relaxation in the traditional restrictions regarding entry into houses. But the fact remains that in general practice the Pana caste and the Mahuria caste, as a whole, do not freely enter the houses of the Gokha caste.

In the past a Gokha never entered the house of either a Pana or a Mahuria for the fear of being defiled and excommunicated. His entry up to the parlour of Pana or Mahuria houses was never objected to by the latter. Even though the notion of untouchability has almost disappeared

from public life, the Gokha in general do not enter the houses of the Pana and the Mahuria because discrimination is still practised in private life among them.

During the pre-independent period when social discrimination was rampant the Panas and the Mahurias freely entered each other's houses excepting the kitchen. Since it is the most sacred place in the house, where the family deity is supposed to dwell and where offerings are made to the deities, it is not allowed to be defiled by the visit of outsiders, no matter whatsoever their social positions are. Even today the same practice continues among the Pana and the Mahuria without any modification.

Mahadevra is a multicaste village and has a structural entity. All the castes are bound up with one another in a symbiotic relationship. Thus the social life of the village which consists of differential caste customs, is orderly to some degree and has coherence to a certain measure. In other words, the social relationships in the village are institutionalized and predictable. As constituent members of the village community, these Harijan castes are also veritable social props of the vertical unity of the village. In order to regulate the community life and maintain the unity of the village there is an unofficial village organization called Grama Sabha, which consists of the representatives of different castes of the village. The Grama Sabha or Village Council mainly looks after almost all internal problems of the village excepting matters that relate to the organizational affairs of individual castes. The organizational affairs of these Harijan castes and also of the vocational or ritual service castes are settled by their respective Jati Sabha or Caste Assemblies. The Harijans of Mahadevra namely, the Gokha, the

STRATIFICATION AND DISCRIMINATION

Mahuria and the Pama are horizontal segments of their respective Jati Sabha. The members of Jati Sabha are spread over a number of adjoining villages. Thus the net work of relationships of these Harijan castes is two-dimensional, one vertical and the other horizontal. The vertical one links up one caste with the other castes in the village, and the horizontal one ties up the members of a particular caste to the members of the same caste in those villages which together constitute the Jati Sabha.

The Grama Sabha meets only when any necessity arises. Heads of all the household in the village, without any discrimination, are invited to participate in the deliberations of the meeting of Grama Sabha. The village shrine is the usual venue for the meeting of the Grama Sabha. Formerly, just before independence, the date for the meeting of the Grama Sabha used to be fixed by the village headman who happened to be the village official of the Raja of Kanika. The headman used to inform the villagers about the meeting through the Dangun or village messenger who used to be a caste Hindu. Another function of the Dangun was to arrange and spread out a mattress at the venue of the meeting for the headman and the Bhadrlokas (respectable caste Hindus) to sit on. This practice continued as the hang-over of the feudal system till late fifties, because the statutory Panchayat was not effective in this area in late fifties. By early sixties the traditional headman of the village became defunct as his functions were assumed by the elected representatives or ward members of the Statutory Panchayat belonging to the village. The village is divided into 3 wards, one Harijan and two caste Hindus, and one representative is elected from each ward to the Statutory Panchayat. Thus the Harijans

are not only represented in the Statutory Panchayat but are also made an effective constituent of the Grama Sabha or Village Council as their elected representative is considered at par with the caste Hindu representatives. No longer the caste Hindus solely dominate the deliberations of the Grama Sabha. Harijans now participate in all the village affairs as equals of and not as subordinates to the caste Hindus. In the Grama Sabha meetings the Harijans neither squat on the ground nor sit far away from the caste Hindus. Now-a-days they bring their own mattresses to the venue of the Grama Sabha meeting to sit on and put them far away from the mat reserved for the caste Hindus.

But the three Harijan castes, that is the Pama and the Gokha, never share a single mattress. Among them there is a caste hierarchy as such they sit on the mattresses on the other hand caste Hindus do not assume and need not state as such. Thus caste hierarchy still exists. The awareness of equality of status and of opportunity is gradually growing in the minds of these low castes, and as a result they are now effectively participating in village affairs. Since 1960 the Pama and the Gokha being the major Harijan castes in the village are alternatively setting up their representative candidates from their Harijan ward for election to the Statutory Panchayat. Their ward member is regarded as a representative and the leader of the village along with the members of two other wards of caste Hindus. This mode of participation of the Harijans in the village affairs certainly does reflect the abrogation of the traditional discriminatory relationship that existed between them and the caste Hindus. The process of democratization of the Grama Sabha has thus deprived the caste Hindus of their

traditional privilege of imposing their verdicts over the Harijans in disputed cases.

Matters relating to the organization and function of the Harijan, and service castes are exclusively dealt with by their respective Jati Sabha and matters relating to the village, as a whole, are discussed exclusively in Grama Sabha.

The Harijans of Mahadesaria have no group or functional identity among themselves. They have no standing organization nor do they ever unite to fulfil their common socio-economic objectives. They seldom together seek redress of their common problems. Each caste puts forth its own grievances before the governmental authorities. For example, all the Harijans of Mahadesaria were landless, but they applied to the Government for the allotment of agricultural and homestead lands castewise separately and never together. In fact, eight Pans and 10 Gokha families have received agricultural land from the Government. This fact indicates that there is intra-caste solidarity and no inter-caste unity.

In the field of village economic life differential interaction exists not only between the caste Hindus and Harijans but also among the latter castes themselves. The structure or organization of the village economy refers to the internal order that obtains in the interrelations between the people, who being socially differentiated, participate in the various economic pursuits either as producers, consumers or distributors, or in some kind of a combination of all these roles. Like other aspects, the economy of a multi-caste village is also shaped by the caste system. It is sustained by mobilizing some kind of a co-operation among the caste groups that are otherwise

differentiated. But the nature of co-operation and discrimination that obtained in the traditional caste society has not changed very much in the present national context. Discrimination still persists in the sale of manual labour by members of one caste to another in their respective economic pursuits. In this regard there has not been any relaxation among the Harijan castes of Mahadesaria.

In trade and commerce the Harijan castes also practise discrimination among themselves. About five years back a Pana took up business in rice. But to his utter dismay he did not find any non-Pana customer either from his own village or from other villages. The Gokha and the Mahuria even did not buy from him. His customers were only those who lived in Pan bari Port where his caste identity remained in obscurity.

In the religious interaction, too there is discrimination among these Harijan castes. For example, every year the Pana and the Gokha of Mahadesaria perform "Astaprahari-Sankirtan" (This is a peculiar religious performance of the Bhakti cult of the Vaishnavite sect in which God's name is recited continuously for 24 hours to the accompaniment of percussion instrument and cymbals, separately in the month of Baisakh (April-May). They never think of performing it jointly although this is a community ritual. This happens mainly because they still think and function in terms of the traditional norms of the caste society.

It is amply evident from the foregoing discussion that in the past caste differentiation and discrimination based on the concept of ritual purity and pollution existed among the exterior castes, who are now together known as

STRATIFICATION AND DISCRIMINATION

Harijans. There are reminiscence of such discrimination in the present life of the Harijan Castes who were the victims of discriminatory treatment by the Caste Hindus. In the present con-

text of social reform it is absolutely necessary to persuade the Harijan castes to eschew discrimination among themselves for their rapid socio-economic development.

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A study of Kutia Khond foot

MISS GITANJALI NAYAK

Introduction

The Kutia Khond is one of the major subdivisions of the famous Khond tribes of Orissa. The Khonds were famous for practising human sacrifice. Kutia Khonds are mainly found in Phulbani, Koraput and Kalahandi districts of Orissa.

Data

In the present paper a study of the foot contour of the Kutia Khonds has been made. The data were collected from sixty-seven adult males and fifty-four adult females from seven Kutia Khond villages of Tumukabundi and Bargarh areas of Phulbani district. Foot contours were collected according to the method described by Sarker (1958).

In the present work the following metrical characters were studied:

1. Length of the foot from acropodion to pterion;
2. Breadth of the foot (from metatarsale tibiale to metatarsale fibulare);
3. Length Breadth Index of foot and
4. Hallux divergent angle.

Along with the above metrical characters, frequencies of the three types of foot, namely, 'T', 'F' and 'O'

were also studied. Then the data have been compared with some Mongoloid tribes such as Rabha and Khasi and with Hira group, a backward caste of Assam and with the Santal, Mundar Juang, Palire tribal groups and Rana, a warrior group living in the Koraput district of Orissa.

Discussion

Three types of foot are observed when the relative length of first and second toes are taken into consideration:

- (1) The first toe is longer than the second toe - $1 > 2$ - 'T' type
2. The second toe is longer than the first toe - $2 > 1$ - 'F' type
3. The lengths of both the first and second toes are equal - $1 = 2$ - 'O' type

The frequencies of these three types of foot among the Kutia Khond for both male and female are presented in the Table I.

From the table it is observed that the 'T' type of foot is found more frequently in both the sex. Bisexual variation is not observed. Frequencies of both 'F' and 'O' types are very low in comparison to that of 'T' type. Occurrence of 'F' type is very low. Males exhibit 2.24 per cent and females 0.94 per cent.

A STUDY OF KUTIA KHOND FOOT

In the Table II the present data have been compared with the Rana, Hira, Khaz, Rabha, Sanam, Mundari, Juang, Oraon, Paharia groups. It is noted that Kutia Khonds both male and female exhibit quite higher frequencies of 'T' type foot. Kutia Khond males exhibit 'T' type foot in slightly lower frequency than the Oraon and Hira males and among the female group, Kutia Khond females exhibit highest frequencies of 'T' type foot in comparison to other female group mentioned.

While comparing the frequencies of 'F' type foot, in both the male and female groups it is observed, that Kutia Khonds exhibit lower frequency of 'F' type foot in comparison to other groups.

In frequency of 'O' type of foot, the male Kutia Khonds exhibit a higher frequency in comparison to all the groups except the Rana and Rabha groups. Among the females also the frequency is only less than the Khaz group.

Table III presents the frequencies of various combinations of the homo and hetero types of foot as found in different populations of India.

There are nine different types combinations of homo and hetero types of foot. Among all these combinations the frequencies of 'TT' type is highest in all the groups presented in the table. Among the Kutia Khonds the frequency is nearly same in both the sex. The next higher frequencies are 'OO', 'TO' and 'OT' types all being 3-46 per cent in the Kutia Khond male. But in the Kutia Khond female the higher frequency next to 'TT' type is 'OT' type 7-41 per cent.

The foot measurements, the Hallux divergent angle and the foot index of the Kutia Khonds are presented in the Table IV. In the Table V the values of 't' test of significance between left and right foot are presented. Table VI presents the values of 't' test of significance for foot index and hallux divergent angle between male and female.

From Table V, it is noted that the right and left foot do not differ much in all the measurements except in the foot index of the Kutia Khond females.

In the intersex comparison in the Table VI it is observed that there is no bisexual variation.

In the Table VII, the mean values of the foot length, foot breadth, foot index and hallux divergent angle of various groups are presented and in the Table VIII the difference and 't' test of significance of various groups compared with the Kutia Khonds are presented.

From Table VII, it is observed that Kutia Khond males do not possess long foot like the Rana. But the foot length is slightly longer than those of Hira Khond and Rabha. The foot length of the Kutia Khond females is also found to be slightly longer than those of Rana, Hira and Rabha.

From the Table VIII it is observed that among the male the Kutia Khond differs from the Rana, the Khaz and the Rabha in foot length. It differs from the Rabha in foot breadth and from Rana and Rabha in hallux divergent angle. Among the female group the Kutia Khond differs from the Rabha in foot length and from the Rana and Rabha in foot breadth.

Table I
Relative Length of the 1st and 2nd Toe of the Ku-pa Rhomb Foot

Sex	Number	Left foot			Right foot			Combined		
		T%	F%	O%	T%	F%	O%	T%	F%	O%
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Male	7	86.57	4.48	8.95	89.57	1.08	9.35	88.06	2.24	9.17
Female	74	88.68	0.87	11.11	90.74	1.85	7.41	89.81	.94	9.20

Table II
Relative Length of 1st and 2nd Toe in different populations

Population	Sex	Number	T	F	O	Author
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Ku-pa Rhomb	Male	6	86.06	2.24	9.17	Present Study
Rana	Do.	87	89.93	4.6	11.47	Paltank (1971)
Hyla	Do.	70	88.61	3.28	7.89	Das & Das (1967)
Khaz	Do.	6	87.4	1.4	7.5	Das and Ujan 1969
Rabha	Do.	90	87.2	6.36	3.93	Das and Ujan 1969
Santal	Do.	44	69.65	11.35	3.41	A. Pal (1966)
Mondoh	Do.	45	85.23	13.33	5.86	Sarker (1958)
Jung	Do.	43	81.1	3.19	4.65	Sarker (1958)
Jabor	Do.	44	91.76	5.65	14	Sarker (1958)
Chitra	Do.	39	79.3	2.1	8.62	Sarker (1958)
Ku-pa Rhomb	Female	54	89.94	.94	9.26	Present Study
Rana	Do.	78	89.10	2.65	8.95	Paltank (1971)
Hyla	Do.	145	87.6	2.0	4.75	Das and Das (1967)
Khaz	Do.	88	76.60	8.05	15.31	Das and Ujan (1969)
Rabha	Do.	800	72.68	18.33	9.00	Das and Ujan (1969)
Santal	Do.	87	83.98	8.96	7.46	A. Pal (1966)
Mondoh	Do.	9	83.33	11.11	5.56	Sarker (1958)

Table III

Frequency of Homo and Hetero types of individuals in different populations

Population	Sex	Number of individuals	T %	F %	O %	T F %	F T %	T O %	O T %	T F O %	F T O %	T F O %	F T O %
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Katla Khond	Male	67	82.09	1.60	1.48	0.00	2.98	1.18	4.48	1.49	0.00	0.00	0.00
Basa	Male	87	78.70	1.15	4.60	3.35	1.15	0.66	.5	15	1.50	0.00	0.00
Mundar	Male	40	73.25	6.67	2.25	0.00	22.50	22.2	2.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hira	Male	76	60.26	0.00	1.31	5.53	2.63	9.21	1.31	1.31	0.00	0.00	0.00
Juang	Male	43	80.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.38	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Kharz	Male	56	80.35	3.5	0.00	2.8	3.5	0.00	1.78	1.78	0.00	0.00	0.00
Chuan	Male	44	88.64	2.27	0.00	2.27	4.54	2.27	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rabha	Male	300	60.33	10.66	0.66	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.33	4.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sarda	Male	44	79.54	4.55	0.00	1.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Paltia	Male	29	75.86	6.90	0.00	3.45	3.45	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Katla Khond	Female	54	83.33	0.00	3.7	1.85	0.00	3.70	7.41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rasa	Female	78	80.76	1.28	1.28	0.00	2.56	14.6	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mundar	Female	9	77.78	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hira	Female	40	80.45	1.90	0.00	5.25	2.85	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Kharz	Female	62	69.35	3.22	6.44	1.61	6.44	1.34	1.61	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rabha	Female	300	62.00	11.00	0.00	3.00	4.00	4.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
San a.	Female	60	77.17	5.91	1.17	1.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table IV
Mean Values of the Characters of Kutna foot

			Left Mean \pm S.E.	Right Mean \pm S.E.	Combined Mean \pm S.E.	Range
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Foot Length (in Cm.)	Male	24.95 \pm 0.20	24.78 \pm 0.22	24.75 \pm 0.25	22.0—28.9	
	Female	22.41 \pm 0.16	22.8 \pm 0.19	22.74 \pm 0.14	2.1—24.9	
Foot Breadth (in Cm.)	Male	10.26 \pm 0.08	10.14 \pm 0.08	10.22 \pm 0.06	8.6—11.85	
	Female	9.2 \pm 0.04	9.2 \pm 0.05	9.28 \pm 0.05	8.1—10.5	
Foot Breadth Length index.	Male	41.62 \pm 0.48	41.59 \pm 0.62	41.33 \pm 0.62	34.09—46.53	
	Female	40.65 \pm 0.86	39.83 \pm 0	40.46 \pm 0.62	36.84—45.04	
Hallux Divergent Angle.	Male	7.08 \pm 0.22	6.90 \pm 0.22	7.23 \pm 0.12	5.0—11.0	
	Female	6.33 \pm 0.23	6.68 \pm 0.25	6.85 \pm 0.17	4.0—10.0	

Table V
Difference of mean (Left-Right)
't' test of significance

(1)		Kolia Male (L1-R1)		Kolia Female (L1-R1)	
		Difference	't'	Difference	't'
		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Foot Length	..	0.29	0.73	0.39	1.55
Foot Breadth	..	0.12	1.08	0.60	0.60
Foot Index	..	0.43	0.66	1.02	2.62*
Hallux Divergent angle	.	0.16	0.58	0.35	1.05

* Significant at 1% level

Table VI
Difference in Mean (Male-Female) Inter sex
't' test of significance

(1)		Foot breadth-length index		Hallux Divergent angle	
		Difference	't'	Difference	't'
		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Left	..	0.77	0.79	0.75	2.42
Right	..	1.28	1.87	0.22	0.67
Combined	..	0.97	0.90	0.40	1.90

TABLE. VII
Comparison of means

Male	Foot length in Cms. Mean \pm S. E.	Foot Breadth in Cms. Mean \pm S. E.	Foot Index in Cms. Mean \pm S. E.	Hal'ux Divergent angle Mean \pm S. E.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Kutba Khond	24.75 \pm 0.25	10.22 \pm 0.08	41.33 \pm 0.52	7.2 \pm 0.12
Rana	27.72 \pm 0.116	9.97 \pm 0.61	40.375 \pm 0.17	6.49 \pm 0.1
Hira	24.56 \pm 0.12	10.05 \pm 0.06	41.10 \pm 0.15	7.44 \pm 0.3
Mhas	23.58 \pm 0.11	10.07 \pm 0.06	42.43 \pm 0.28	7.40 \pm 0.1
Rabha	23.97 \pm 0.07	9.97 \pm 0.05	40.74 \pm 0.11	6.71 \pm 0.06
Female				
Kutba Khond	22.74 \pm 0.14	9.28 \pm 0.15	40.46 \pm 0.52	6.55 \pm 0.17
Rana	22.80 \pm 0.085	8.85 \pm 0.13	39.92 \pm 0.15	6.62 \pm 0.08
Hira	22.53 \pm 0.10	9.15 \pm 0.05	40.31 \pm 0.3	7.27 \pm 0.11
Rabha	22.02 \pm 0.07	8.74 \pm 0.03	39.58 \pm 0.3	6.59 \pm 0.05

Table VIII
Differences of means—'t' test of significance
(Inter group)

(1)	Foot length		Foot breadth		Foot index		Hallux Divergent angle	
	Dif.	't'	Dif.	't'	Dif.	't'	Dif.	't'
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Male								
Kutia—Rana Khond ..	2.97	10.8*	0.25	0.41	0.955	1.49	0.76	1.73*
Kutia Khond—Hira ..	0.19	0.64	0.17	0.27	0.23	0.51	0.23	1.25
Kutia Khond—Khond ..	1.17	4.33*	0.15	1.36	1.10	1.62	0.25	1.56
Kutia Khond—Rabha ..	0.78	3.00*	0.25	2.67*	0.58	0.94	0.52	4.00*
Female								
Kutia Khond—Rana ..	0.06	0.26	0.43	3.07*	0.54	0.84	0.23	1.21
Kutia Khond—Hira ..	0.11	0.63	0.13	1.86	0.15	0.24	0.42	2.1**
Kutia Khond—Rabha ..	0.72	4.5*	0.54	9.00*	0.88	1.4	0.26	0.14

* Significant at 1% level

** at 5% level

Explanatory notes on terms used

1. Acropodion (ap) .. It is the most forwardly projecting point on the top of the first or second toe.
2. Foot index or Length-breadth index of foot.
$$\frac{\text{Breadth of the foot} \times 100}{\text{Length of the foot}}$$
3. Hallux divergent angle .. It is the angle formed by the hallux (great toe) with the 2nd toe.
4. Metatarsal tubercle (mt) .. It is the lateral most point on the 5th metatarsal
5. Metatarsal tubercle (mt) .. It is the medialmost point on the first metatarsal

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